

Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

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How Can We Combat Anti-American Propaganda in Europe?

Moderator, GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Speakers

HENRY CABOT LODGE

FRANCIS CASE

WILLIAM J. DONOVAN

WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH

(See also page 13)

COMING

—December 16, 1947—

How Can We Maintain Prosperity and Avert Depression?

—December 23, 1947—

Is Christianity Losing Out to Materialism?

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BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



DECEMBER 9, 1947

VOL. 13, No. 33

How Can We Combat Anti-American Propaganda in Europe?

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. Tonight we are discussing one of the most baffling questions that has ever confronted a free and generous people. Nearly every American returning from Europe reports on the effectiveness of anti-American propaganda, which has twisted and distorted the meaning and intentions of the American people in the aid that we have extended, and in the further aid we expect to extend.

If we send millions of tons of grain, a whispering campaign is launched, which goes something like this, "The Americans have plenty of money, their markets are glutted with food. Why don't they send us more farm machinery and more steel so we can rebuild our own economies?"

In sections where this type of aid is given the word goes out, "The Americans are rich. Their markets are glutted. Our crops

have failed. Why don't they send us more food?"

Then the voice of the press of the nine Comintern nations shouts, "Beware of American imperialism. Beware of Americans who are trying to enslave us. Beware of the Marshall Plan. It's a tool of American aggression in Europe."

While this goes on the American people make plans to send 500 million dollars more in American relief to European countries in dire need.

While this goes on, we debate the question of sending 20 billion dollars more to Europe over a period of four years to help Europe recover from the war in which we had no part in starting—a war which has already cost the American people 340 billions of dollars and 200,000 lives, which means in terms of dollars that World War II has cost every American adult \$3,810.

If we want to avoid a third

World War, it's high time we learn how to fight a war against this kind of propaganda with all the resources at our command. We know something about how that war is being fought here at home where we have loyal Americans who can nail down lies and distortions when we hear them. But how should we fight this war abroad, in our own self-interest, as we respond to the deepest humanitarian instincts within us.

We've invited four authorities here tonight to counsel with us on this question, and they have four distinct points of view as to what should be done.

Senator Lodge, Republican of Massachusetts, member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, made an extensive tour of Europe this summer and has incorporated his ideas on how we should combat anti-American propaganda in a series of 12 definite proposals.

Reverend William Melish, Chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, was one of the group of American clergymen who visited Yugoslavia this summer as a guest of that government and returned with what will be a different viewpoint.

Major General William J. Donovan, affectionately known as "Wild Bill" by his men in World War I, headed the Office of Strategic Services, known as the OSS, during World War II. From this vantage point, he is in position to under-

stand thoroughly the workings of propaganda warfare as well as any other kind.

Congressman Francis Case, publican of South Dakota, member of the House Appropriations Committee, is also a veteran of World War I, and was a member of Congressional Committee that returned from Europe only a few weeks ago.

Now, let's hear the plans of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Massachusetts. Senator Lodge. (*Applause.*)

Senator Lodge:

Ladies and gentlemen. We have all heard of the famous American political campaign in which one candidate spent most of the money while his opponent received most of the votes. That is the situation we will face in Western Europe unless we decide to fight the war for men's minds in a realistic and common sense way. Unless the United States promptly takes forthright steps, we face the real danger of having a sort of Marshall Plan in reverse, with the Americans the money spenders and the communists the vote getters.

What are these two steps?

First, whether we like it or not, we are engaged in a war of ideas which we are now losing. We cannot expect to win this war if we have no ideas. Therefore, we must develop a clear-cut belief regarding our hopes for Europe and our aims for ourselves.

Second, we must find a means, tactfully and forcefully, to present those ideas to the great masses of population in Europe. But before we can discuss how to convey our message, we must decide what that message is to be.

Now, we begin with the basic premise that the most effective way to counter a lie is to tell the truth. We Americans can speak of our aims for America, a land which exists by mutual consent for the benefit of the individual, and that's the exact opposite of the dictatorial police state.

We can speak of our hope for the old world, the voluntary achievement of a United Europe, which is also the hope of the overwhelming mass of ordinary people abroad. It cannot, as two modern dictators have found, be achieved by force. But it can be achieved by inspiration and example. Lafayette brought us a message of freedom 175 years ago. Today, we can bring the equivalent message to Europe.

Well, that's the message we must convey. Now, how to do it?

The present foreign information program, including the Voice of America, seems to me utterly inadequate as a means of putting our message across. It doesn't set its sights high enough. Unlike wartime, the ordinary citizen doesn't listen to a foreign short-wave broadcast in preference to his favorite local station. Moreover, sad

experience has made all Europeans instinctively suspicious of official information put out by foreign offices.

Here are 12 specific proposals.

1. The true "Voice of America" is the President of the United States and the Secretary of State. The world radio and press are largely open to them. They should function as the "voice."

2. Our top representatives abroad could furnish effective contacts, provided they were skilled in the arts of public persuasion and debate, and unfortunately very few of them are.

3. To reach the mass mind, where public opinion is formed, and where our main effort against communist-planted lies must be directed, we should buy time on foreign broadcasts and space in foreign newspapers.

4. We should provide translated editions of American newspapers published on the Continent, such as the Paris edition of the *New York Herald Tribune*.

5. We should appeal to the eye by getting into all possible local fairs and exhibitions.

6. We should make newsprint available to newspapers in Europe whose anti-American line derives from a fear of reduced allocations of paper from communist-dominated agencies rather than agreement with Soviet philosophy.

7. All American officials at home and abroad should co-ordi-

nate their press releases. You realize that the very day last June when Secretary Marshall proposed the Marshall Plan, in his speech at Harvard, President Truman gave out an interview in Washington denouncing Russian outrages in Hungary. President Truman thereby took the front page away from Secretary Marshall.

8. Press releases of local interest should be made, not in Washington, but on the spot.

9. We should explore the possibility of getting our government movies into the big theaters abroad by bloc-booking them with the Hollywood features. Now, our government movies only reach a few intellectuals.

10. All foreign aid going abroad to relieve suffering, hunger, and economic chaos should be plainly marked to show its sources.

11. Encouragement should be given American benevolent activities of a medical and educational nature.

12. Last, above all, we must stop thinking of public relations as a minor clerical function and realize that in a war of ideas diplomatic relations have in most respects become public relations. Indeed, they are the armour in which strategy and economics are clothed.

Let us hold aloft a torch which will not only rival, but easily surpass communism, as a brightly shining attraction to all the weary people in Europe, old and young,

who are looking for a way out of their misery. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Senator Lodge. Now, we hear from an Episcopal minister, Associate Rector of Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, who has always been active in public affairs. He was member of the Citizens Political Action Committee, vice chairman of the New York State Committee of the American Labor Party. He has been particularly active as a member and now chairman of the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship, and is the author of a book called *Religion Today in U.S.S.R.* The Reverend William Howard Melish. Dr. Melish. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Melish:

Ladies and gentlemen. The increase in anti-American propaganda in Europe is a serious fact. Unlike Senator Lodge, however, I hold that it is not so much a malicious ideological assault on the American people and our way of life as it is a response to action on our part which do arouse misunderstanding, fear, and reaction.

The issue before us is not simply how much money should be appropriated for the Voice of America, what additional propaganda should be adopted, or what increase in diplomatic personnel. Our whole approach rather to

problems of Europe must be re-examined with a policy change that will restore to our democratic propaganda some greater substance and integrity.

Now all of us know something about advertising. Every day of our lives we're on the receiving end of a commercial barrage. When advertisers sell a product, they make it as attractive as possible. All of us have been fooled often enough to look twice now before buying. The wise advertiser knows that his promises must be reasonably fulfilled in his product.

The simple truth in Europe today is that American propaganda is meeting a buyers' resistance. Europe feels she is being offered attractive goods under a handsome label, "Democracy," but when she opens the box, she finds, for example, money and arms being supplied to her most reactionary and least stable and least popular regimes.

In glowing words, our Secretary of State speaks of assistance to Europe to aid herself, through the revival of her industry. The billing looks good, but when the package is untied to Europeans, the contents look suspiciously like the revival of German heavy industry under the old private ownership, the return of Eastern Europe to an agricultural status, the use of relief for political purposes, the condemnation of Western Europe to serve as a bastion against Eastern Europe,

with which for a final recovery Western Europe must have trade.

Three months ago with a group of American ministers, I briefly visited Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, talking primarily with clergymen of different faiths—Roman Catholic, Serbian Orthodox, Protestant, Jewish, Mohammedan.

In Prague, Czechoslovakia, the leaders of the Protestant Church of the Czech Brethren said this to us, "You Americans misunderstand us Czechs. We are not Communists, but it was Germany that attacked us. But, it was the western democracies at Munich that sold us out, and it was the Red Army that restored our independence.

"Therefore, we Czechs are all agreed that because of the threat of Germany our present alliance with the Soviet Union is the foundation of any sensible Czech foreign policy. We Czechs are also agreed on the nationalization of our larger industries. We non-Communists have found why there is an agreement with the Communists.

"Finally, in this land of John Huss and Thomas Masaryk, we know what the Four Freedoms mean. You will find them here in Prague. You in America seem so afraid of our future because of Russia. What frightens us is not Russia—we'll take care of her—but the growing talk in your

country of the inevitability of war again, the refusal of your business leaders to accept certain elementary facts of social change in Central and Eastern Europe, and your increasing program of militarization.

"Why should you, the most powerful and secure country in the world, be afraid? Who from this devastated side of the water is going to attack you?"

Also in Yugoslavia it is true that we saw editorials and cartoons condemning "Uncle Shylock." But it is also true that everywhere we went we were treated with the utmost cordiality as Americans though regret was frankly expressed over aspects of our foreign policy.

At the famous Youth Railway in Bosnia, a revealing episode occurred. Hundreds of youngsters crowded around us cheering Yugoslavia and the Youth Railway. "How about a cheer for Roosevelt?" asked Dr. Williams. There was a pause.

"It is not our custom," said one young fellow, "to cheer leaders who are dead."

"Well, how about a cheer for President Truman?"

There was an awkward silence. We showed our embarrassment. Suddenly an agitated whispering broke out among the young people and then with a diplomacy that represented something far deeper than diplomacy they broke out in

a loud, prolonged cheer for Roosevelt.

There is a moral in this. Europe, today, we do not have to sell America. Everybody knows about America, has relatives in America, envies Americans. Many are troubled at the direction in which our current policies seem to be taking us, and, today, no matter how high-powered propaganda, we cannot sell Europe a dubious bill of goods and that is what political relief, uneconomical subsidies, and guns instead of money for reconstruction would constitute.

Let America, I say, use the United Nations for relief, encourage reconstruction with a two-way trade permitted in Western Europe, and not interfere in the workings of governments which other peoples want, and you and we will not have to sell America any mechanical advertising because America will sell herself by her working democracy. Thank you. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Dr. Melish. Our next speaker has a career of public service in civil life almost equivalent to that of his military career in two World Wars in which he won numerous decorations. He is one of New York's most distinguished attorneys, has served on many commissions and committees related to both state and federal government, was Republican candidate for

Lieutenant Governor of New York in 1922, and we are proud to announce that he is now Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Town Hall. Major General William J. Donovan. (*Applause.*)

General Donovan:

In his Chicago speech on the 19th of November, 1947, General Marshall asserted that communist groups are waging, and I use his words, with "increasing venom," a calculated campaign of vilification and distortion of American motives in foreign affairs. He charged that these opponents of recovery in Western Europe attributed to the United States imperialistic design, aggressive purposes, and the desire to provoke a third World War.

As a representative of the United States he made his denial in these words: "There is no truth whatever in these charges and I add that those who make them are fully aware of that fact."

Mr. Marshall then went on to say that the United States in its Marshall Plan had no purpose other than to restore Europe as a self-supporting community of states and to terminate as speedily as possible its dependence upon us.

This propaganda against us, as I know from actual experience with it, has been made up of rumor as well as direct assertions and can be found at all levels of life in the countries in Europe, from government officials to railroad work-

ers and innkeepers. There has been created a desperate fear in these people which has been exploited through a skillful program under central direction which has played up misinformation, left out real information, and distorted authentic news to slander the United States.

In determining how to combat this, we must view it as part of a general policy of attack against us which includes many other elements of a strategic plan on the part of Russia aimed at our prestige in the world and our national security at home.

By this I do not mean that war is inevitable. On the contrary, I do not believe that war is inevitable, but I do believe there is a greater danger. That danger consists in letting the Soviet Union seize strategic bases vital to our security, in neglecting to build our military defenses, and in viewing with complacency the penetration of our morals and physical defenses by Communist agents.

Our real danger is not that the Soviet Union will attack us in the military sense today. She is not ready for that even if she wanted to. Our danger is that, tied down by these Lilliputian threads, if one day we should find it necessary to fight, we couldn't fight.

We must have realized that already a particular kind of war is being waged against us of which propaganda is an essential part. It is not a shooting war but in

many ways it is more effective and more dangerous. It is what is called a subversive war.

For example, if I'm on your team and I'm killed, you just lose me. But if I'm on your team and my mind is turned against you and you don't know that it is and I work inside of your fence, but work against you, then, as a hidden enemy, I am much more effective against you than as an open enemy.

As I follow him, Mr. Melish's position is this: that the cause of our difficulty is American policy itself. He makes the Marshall Plan a package made up to deceive the people of Europe. He does not say what our foreign policy is in particular but he says that it requires re-examination to give it some substance and integrity, that the nature of that policy is such that it has bred resentment and retaliation against us.

Now what does Mr. Marshall say about that policy? He says this—and I use his words—"The American proposal is a genuinely cooperative undertaking which is being worked out in an atmosphere of mutual trust and with careful regard for the sovereignty of nations. Indeed this joint endeavor by the United States and the European states is a clear and convincing demonstration of cooperation freely given to achieve the common good. We will recognize, that as a people, we are called

upon to share their goods, still in short supply, and will have to forego filling a portion of their own requirements until the great needs of Europe have been met.

Now these two views stand in sharp contradiction. These are the two witnesses. To which view will be given the greater credence? Mr. Marshall is the Secretary of State, responsible under his oath for the administration of our foreign policy. Mr. Melish as an American citizen has a full right under our doctrine of free speech and expression of opinion, to challenge his statements. But when we undertake to influence the opinion of others in a public matter we should expect to have our affirmations and our associations required into so that those who hear us may determine the degree of credibility that should be given to our opinion. Let us do this here.

In the newspaper, *The New Leader*, on September 13, 1947, appears an article by Mr. T. Kirkpatrick, managing editor of *Counterattack*, the weekly newsletter of facts to combat Communism. This article was entitled "Thou Shalt Not Bear False Witness," and was written as an open letter addressed to seven fellow travelers.

In that article, Mr. Kirkpatrick asked certain questions, the nature of which can be determined by a few examples. He said, "Are you a member of the Communist Party

Mr. Melish? If not, why did you become National Chairman of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship?" This organization is listed by the Attorney General of the United States as a subversive organization.

The question is continued. "If not, why are you vice president of the Civil Rights Congress which replaces the International Labor Defense as the legal arm of the Communist Party?" This organization is on the Attorney General's list.

He goes on. "If not, why are you a member of the Board of Directors of the Jefferson School of Social Science which is so much part of the Communist network that secret weekly classes for party functionaries have been held there this summer?" This school is also on the subversive list.

And he goes on, "If not, why have you been a sponsor of the Communist-controlled Council on African Affairs?" The Attorney General also lists this as a subversive organization.

I have been unable to find that Mr. Melish has answered any of these questions.

We've got to realize that subversive war is, in its essence, a war of preliminary maneuvers. Employed with success, the Soviet would have the advantage of us in the preparation for a shooting war. In fact, such a war might be unnecessary. It is in the interest

of our own security that we recognize the particular kind of warfare now going on against us. We must halt its attack. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, General Donovan. Mr. Melish will have a chance to comment on what General Donovan has said in the discussion period. Now a great deal of what we do to combat anti-American propaganda in Europe depends on what happens in the House Appropriations Committee of which our next speaker is a member. He is the senior member of the South Dakota delegation in Congress, having returned from Europe only recently. Congressman Case, what is your opinion on this subject? Congressman Francis Case. (*Applause.*)

Congressman Case:

Thank you, Mr. Denny. As you have said, Congress is considering additional money for aid in war-devastated countries. That is on top of \$1,330,000,000 already appropriated this year for that purpose. It is discouraging to send money like that and to have our motives misconstrued by anti-American propaganda.

Mr. Melish seems to think that this anti-American propaganda is increasing.

General Donovan sees it as a part of a subversive war, a war of maneuvers.

Senator Lodge, like a good

former newspaperman, says we must decide what to say and how we shall say it.

I have three points of comment, Mr. Denny, and three suggestions. First of all, while anti-American propaganda may be increasing in volume, violence, and Vishinsky, (*laughter*) I do not think it is increasing in effectiveness, for basically, no government can gain converts by professing democracy while it liquidates its political opponents, keeps war prisoners for slave labor, and sends its civil prisoners to Siberia. (*Applause.*) As a wise man once said, "What you do speaks so loudly I cannot hear what you say."

In Hamburg, Germany, I met a woman who had spent months in a concentration camp. Storm Troopers had heard her say, "Hitler is crazy."

"How did you come to say that out loud?" I asked her.

"Well," she said, "because after every raid, Berlin radio would say, 'Royal Air Force kaput.' But next day, R.A.F. come again and our cities went kaput."

So comment number one is to remember that acts speak louder than words.

Comment number two is, we should not waste time and effort trying to answer every Red that talks.

Theodore Roosevelt once got a letter from one of his sons in col-

lege. "Why don't you tell the critics off?" the boy wrote.

"I'm too busy getting my work done," the great Roosevelt answered.

If the postman stopped to argue with every dog that barked, he never get the mail delivered. Do bark, bears growl—that's their nature. If they didn't, the crowd back home would think they had gone soft. So if what we are doing is right, let's keep on doing it and let the Russian bear growl.

Comment number three: let not hide our light under a bush.

Sterling Morton, whose salt ways pours, told me this personal experience. He was getting a tire fixed over in France this summer. The French repairman told him that Russia was a great friend of France. Why? Because they had sent two shiploads of wheat to France last winter. What about the U.S.? Oh, he hadn't heard anything that we had done. Congressman Andresen says that what we had done was to supply the money that paid Russia for the wheat.

You remember the old saw about kissing a girl in the dark. You know what you're doing, but so does one else does. So point number three is—tell them. (*Applause*)

Now, then, for suggestions. The Voice of America needs money, of course. It would have had more money last year if Mr. Benton had resigned earlier. He simply had

lost the confidence of Congressmen who control the purse strings. Why? Well, the mess he so-called art pictures, the Circus Girl, and some of those other futuristic splotches that Mr. Benton himself couldn't identify—they looked like the mural atrocities perpetrated in the Post Offices back in WPA days. Incidentally, Benton's chair has been empty for months. If this work is so important, Mr.

Truman better get somebody on the job.

Now for the three suggestions. Number one: better team work between Washington and the field. Last week a former South Dakota girl, now in Costa Rica, wrote me "Why not give the whole world the same programs the average American listens to at home—the programs have been so terrible that no one bothers to listen to

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH—The Reverend William H. Melish is associate rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity (Protestant Episcopal), Brooklyn, New York. Born in Brooklyn, Mr. Melish is a graduate of Harvard and of Cambridge University in England. He also has a degree from the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Mass.

During World War II, Mr. Melish was a volunteer organizer and speaker for Russian War Relief, and became a legal incorporator of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, of which he is now chairman. He has written many articles for *The Churchman*, *The Christian Century*, *Religion in Life*, *Digest and Review*, and other periodicals. He is the author of *Religion Today in the U.S.S.R.*

WILLIAM JOSEPH DONOVAN — An attorney and former director of the Office of Strategic Services, Mr. Donovan has the ranking of Major General in the United States Army. With an A.B. and an LL.B. from Columbia University, Major Donovan began the practice of law in 1907 in Buffalo. In 1922 he was Republican candidate for lieutenant governor of New York State.

Major Donovan has been U.S. district attorney for the Western District of N.Y., assistant attorney general of the United States, and assistant to the Attorney General. He has served on many commissions and committees related to both state and federal government. He has also served as a legal counselor for many groups.

During World War I, he achieved fame as major, lieutenant colonel, and colonel with the 165th Infantry (the old 69th N.Y.). For his war services he received numerous medals and awards. During World War II, Major Donovan was an unofficial observer for the Secretary of

the Navy in Great Britain and Southeastern Europe. He was appointed coordinator of information in 1941, and director of Strategic Services in June, 1942.

HENRY CABOT LODGE—Born in Nahant, Mass., Mr. Lodge follows the Senatorial footsteps of his grandfather whose name he also bears. Educated at Harvard, he worked as Washington correspondent, foreign correspondent, and editorial writer on the *Boston Evening Transcript* and the *New York Herald-Tribune* before his election to the Massachusetts General Court in 1933. He served two terms and then was elected to the U.S. Senate. He was reelected in 1942 but resigned in 1944 to go on active combat duty with the U.S. Army. He was the first U.S. Senator to see action with the American Armed Forces since the Civil War. Elected once more to the Senate in November, 1946, Mr. Lodge is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee. Mr. Lodge has traveled widely.

FRANCIS HIGBEE CASE—Republican from South Dakota, Congressman Case is a member of the House Appropriations Committee. Born in Everly, Iowa, in 1896, he has an A.B. degree and an LL.D. from Dakota Wesleyan University, and an A.M. degree from Northwestern. While attending Northwestern, he was also assistant editor of *Epworth Herald* published in Chicago. From 1922 to 1925, he was editor of the *Rapid City Daily Journal*; from 1925 to 1931, editor and publisher of the *Hot Springs Star*, and since 1931 has been editor and publisher of the *Custer Chronicle*.

Congressman Case has been a member of the House of Representatives since 1937. During World War I, he served in the U.S. Marine Corps.

them." In Austria and Germany, it was hard to find anyone who listened. Finally, in Heidelberg, two University professors said they had.

"How do you like them," I asked?

"Too high-brow," the professor said, "These people are hungry."

Suggestion number two: use the normal channel of publicity more. I asked some German city officials what paper they liked best.

"*Stars and Stripes*, your Army paper," they replied. Why? "Because it's what you publish for your own people," they said. "We think it's more likely to be the truth and not propaganda."

Several good American publications have foreign language editions, as Senator Lodge said. They should be put in all the reading rooms of Europe, including the so-called satellite countries.

Number three: I would emphasize Senator Lodge's suggestion of making more print paper available in these countries. Our one overt paper, *Die Neue Zeitung*, has about a million circulation, while it could have three million, if we had the newsprint over there.

In Berlin, heart of the Russian zone, where our paper can circulate and get out into the Russian zone, the run has been cut from 200,000 to 100,000 for lack of paper.

In Munich, the Catholic and Protestant leaders joined in appeal-

ing to us for paper to counter the flood of communistic publications. They wanted magazine paper to print Bibles and religious papers. One of the youth organizations had 150,000 members and not a single medium of printed publicity or communication.

If the metropolitan press, which cried so loudly for more funds for the Voice of America, would share its newsprint with Europe—we at our homes wouldn't be so cluttered up on Sunday morning and there would be more paper to do the job over there.

Summing it up, Mr. Denny, the way to combat anti-America propaganda is to be sure we're doing a good job, and then let the eagle scream about it. (*Applause.*)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Congressman Cass. Now while we get ready for a very lively discussion period and a question period, I'm sure that you and our listeners, will be interested in the following message.

Announcer: You are listening to America's Town Meeting of the Air originating in Town Hall, New York. We are discussing the question "How Can We Combat Anti-American Propaganda in Europe?" In case you would like a printed copy of tonight's broadcast, including the questions and answers to follow, you may secure it by sending 10 cents to Town Hall, New York 18, New York. These broadcasts are published

each week for your convenience in our Town Meeting Bulletin. You may secure eleven issues for \$1.00, twenty-six issues for \$2.35 or a

full year for \$4.50. Remember the address: Town Hall, New York 18, New York, and please allow at least two weeks for delivery.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now gentlemen, if you speakers will join me up here around the microphone for a little discussion before we take the questions from the audience. I'm sure you have an exchange or two between you. We haven't heard from Senator Lodge for awhile—Senator, how about starting this discussion?

Senator Lodge: Mr. Denny, I was impressed with the fact that Mr. Melish seemed to be looking hard for all the flyspecks he could find about America — that's the way it seemed to me—but completely ignored the secret police with his hobnail boots, knocking on the door at night with a club in his hand, which is the way people are governed behind the Iron Curtain. It seems to me that he didn't give a very balanced picture. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Melish: Before I comment, may I be privileged to say, just this—that I shall never look to see that day when it becomes a crime or a misdemeanor to speak out for peace and understanding between nations, and to stand for the civil rights of all American citizens. (*Applause.*)

I tried to give to you tonight

the reflection of the feeling that we found in Central and Eastern Europe which, from the contacts we had, is what we ourselves experienced, and I would only remind you that the people with whom we were talking were members of various churches in those countries, and that is what they said to us, in substance. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Congressman Case, have you any question?

Congressman Case: Well, I haven't any question, but I think that Americans are a little inclined to think that we have lost that reservoir of good will which Wendell Willkie used to talk about. It's my conviction, based upon such travel as I have made, that there is still a great reservoir of good will in Europe and throughout the world for the United States, the proof of which is that the people in the satellite countries, the people in the occupied countries, are mostly worried for fear that we may leave. They want us to stay, which is a real tribute to the confidence they have in this country. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. General Donovan?

General Donovan: I certainly concur in what Dr. Melish says as to the right of each man to speak up in pursuance of our constitutional right of free speech. I cannot help, however, as he spoke again of the people that he met in Europe, to go back to his Czech episodes, because all of you will remember that when the invitation went out from our Government to the nations to see if they would participate with us in finding a way to recovery, that invitation was sent to all of the Eastern Europeans as well as to the Western.

Czechoslovakia responded "yes," to that invitation. Czechoslovakia evidently thought that she was a free nation and had the right to do that. She was summoned to Moscow, after which she declined the invitation. Thus, Czechoslovakia today feels that she is free as she thought she was when she accepted that invitation. (*Applause.*)

Dr. Melish: That brings us, I think, to the heart of a very real problem. These nations all want help and assistance from the United States, but they are all very much concerned that they not deal with indeterminate or indefinite things. It is true that Czechoslovakia debated long and changed its mind when it found that a considerable bloc of states would not enter the arrangements.

But two things must be remembered that I would just state in sentence each—that these eastern countries had entered a very elaborate program of commercial and diplomatic treaties among themselves. They had no assurance that those would be fitted into the new plan. Secondly, that especially the countries to the south and the Balkans, which wanted some industrialization, were frankly frightened by the over-all European pattern suggested by Secretary Marshall, fearing that they would be relegated to a resource or agricultural role.

I believe that tragedy is that that fine speech at Harvard—it was a fine speech, we all saluted—that he did not give guarantees and protections at that time. It might have been a different story. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Yes, Senator Lodge.

Senator Lodge: There's one point regarding which I think we ought to set the record straight. Dr. Melish quoted one of his friends abroad as speaking of so-called "program of militarization" here in America. Certainly that is a very badly informed remark. This country has disarmed and demobilized quicker than any demobilization in history. Our Navy today is unable to take on an engagement of any significance. Our Air Force is below the 70 aircraft group minimum which is deemed essential by the students of the

problem, and our Army is unable to have even one division which is immediately ready to take on a mission.

Now that is not a program of militarization. That is a program of neglect. When Mr. Vishinsky and Mr. Molotov talk about warmongers, they ought to look at those facts because a warmonger doesn't neglect its defenses the way we have. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Well, if you've no other questions, then let's take some of these questions from the audience. I see a lot of hands up. We'll start with the gentleman here in the loges. Right here, yes.

Man: My question is directed to Mr. Melish. The interview was very interesting, but have you ever heard of an interview behind the black curtain that was unflattering to the USSR?

Dr. Melish: Yes, as a matter of fact, it's very interesting that we ran into a great deal of criticism of the policies in the countries we visited and of the Soviet Union. There isn't time to give you details, but that was true.

Mr. Denny: All right. The lady on the aisle. No, we'll take the gentleman over there with the number—no, right across here. I'm sorry, that's also for Dr. Melish. The gentleman back of you. Come on, let's go. They're writing out their questions tonight and some-

body dropped his question. Go ahead.

Man: My question is directed to Senator Lodge. Is not the unbecoming conduct of American troops and certain civilians in Europe one of the greatest bars to effective American propaganda?

Senator Lodge: Well, having been one of them myself, I can't agree that the American GI, on the whole, did anything but leave a very fine impression in his wake. (*Applause.*) I was there this summer and the few instances of misbehaviour were completely overshadowed in the minds of the people by the recollection of the bravery and the neighborliness and the friendliness which our soldiers showed. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. All right.

Man: My question is addressed to Major General Donovan. Could we, by reinstalling an OSS organization thus contribute affirmatively in combating anti-American propaganda, as well as serve OSS's counter-intelligence mission? (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: You've asked the right man!

General Donovan: Well, we already have a central intelligence agency to which has been assigned those functions performed by OSS in the war.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now we'll take this young lady—no, the lady over there—the blonde—

if you don't mind being referred to as a blonde?

Lady: My question is addressed to Dr. Melish. Wouldn't our radio news commentators accomplish more by trying to disprove anti-American propaganda rather than by using the same antagonistic tactics as the offenders?

Dr. Melish: I think that would be helpful in some regards, but there are, of course, two quite different problems involved here. One is the attitude that we take towards the areas in Eastern Europe where you do have a Communist or semi-Communist leadership, and the attitude in countries in the west that still have conservative governments or are in process of change. I think there are two questions facing the American people—one is, what you say to the people who are with you and what you say to people who are under administrations of a different character.

I agree with the previous speakers that the President of the United States and the Secretary of State are the spokesmen of America. Yet may I just put the problem to you as a problem without giving the answer—because I do not altogether know it either—but when the President of the United States and the Secretary of State make addresses in which they do speak of the menace of a communist way of life, or when they speak of countering at every point political

movements which are taking place and winning the loyalties of people, how do those speeches help the relationship between the United States and very large masses of people who do have the leadership? That is a problem which we have had no answer from our Congressional and Senatorial speakers tonight, and I put to you.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Would either one of our Congressional or Senatorial speakers like to comment now? All right. We have a question down here for Congressman Case.

Man: Congressman Case, I like to know how much the people of Western Europe—not Eastern Europe, but Western Europe—have been swayed by the information put out by the newly formed Cominform?

Congressman Case: The newly formed Cominform hasn't, as such, had very much of a chance to operate. But my own feeling, as to the people in Europe whom I have personally contacted, is that they have trust in the United States and they do not have trust in the East. The evidence of that is the desperate way in which people hang on to us night after night in talking with us about whether or not we were going to stay in there.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman back here on the aisle.

Man: Senator Lodge, since trade enhances good relations, promoting

friendship and understanding, why not promote trade with democratic Europe by eliminating tariff barriers?

Senator Lodge: I think the answer is that we ought to promote trade in every way that we can, but the prostration in Europe is so great that tariff barriers at the present time are a very minor factor.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The gentleman in the balcony—or it's a lady—yes? The lady right here.

Lady: How can Americans reach the countries with government-controlled propaganda. The countries hear nothing but anti-American propaganda.

Mr. Denny: To whom was your question directed?

Lady: To Reverend Melish.

Dr. Melish: I would make several suggestions. The first is this: I hold that we are making a serious error in doing what we are now doing. That is, making it almost impossible for representative citizens of governments that are Communist and have Communist leadership to come to the United States as our guests to see America.

I would like to take an illustration because I think this makes a very important point. Not many weeks back a French Communist editor came here to cover a French newspaper and was limited in his movements to a very small area around Lake Success. That man

goes back and writes articles which did reflect the stability and the vitality of the American scene. I think if men of that kind whose word is trusted by members of other political parties—that will carry a kind of weight that no propaganda from this side can possibly manage.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Another question in the balcony. The gentleman right here.

Man: My name is Louis MacDonald, of the World-wide Broadcasting Foundation. The American way of life and living is broadcast short-wave over WRUL to the world and received as free choice and nongovernmental, therefore is considered reliable. Why not more programs over a free-choice station like WRUL?

Senator Lodge: I think more programs over WIUL is a good thing. While I'm here in front of the microphone, let me just say that I was interested in Mr. Melish's bemoaning the fact that it's so difficult for a Communist to come over here. He didn't mention the fact that it is utterly impossible for any Americans or anybody who isn't a complete yes-man to the Soviets to go into Soviet Russia. (*Applause.*) He's taken this one instance which was featured a great deal in certain types of newspapers here, and it's the same old mousetrap warmed over time and again, and never refers to the big picture. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny. Thank you. General Donovan.

General Donovan: In further answer to the question of WRUL, I'd like to say that had I gotten to the completion of my speech, that was one of the things I was going to urge that should be done, because if we have this done through the ordinary accepted agencies, they're much more effective than doing it through a government instrument, which is always viewed with suspicion in Europe today. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Any comment, Dr. Melish?

Dr. Melish: I would like to make one other point in regard to this question of contacts which seem to me very important. The Senator referred as one of his points to the need for having American representation at trade congresses and other international meetings. I think our country really suffered to some degree this past summer by the type of discriminatory policy that was reflected in the assistance of our State Department to young people and other groups to take part in great international congresses. In Prague, I saw one of those very briefly—the Youth Congress—and half an American delegation that had planned to go, that had been stymied by official inability to make up its mind, put on a very representative and fair attempt in an amateurish way that stood up and was well received

against some very professional showings from Eastern European countries.

Now if we cannot trust our own people to mix and mingle with youngsters and other people of different nations, how can we let them live in one world. There's the problem. We have to trust our own citizens as mature individuals and it is for that that I appeal tonight. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. General Donovan?

General Donovan: I think that every American would subscribe to that doctrine if it would be a two way street. (*Applause.*) I would admit those citizens of Russia in the same number as they would admit ours. I wonder if they would do it. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. You probably know the answer to the General. We all do. All right. The gentleman back there in the third row from the rear.

Man: My question is directed to Major General Donovan. Can not America most effectively stop anti-American propaganda by first allowing peoples abroad to choose their own representative forms of government? (*Applause.*)

General Donovan: Yes, that's exactly the American doctrine, and that's what she is undertaking to aid them in doing in getting free elections. That cannot be said of the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. T

lady in green here, if you can get to her with that microphone. She has a question for Congressman Case.

Lady: Congressman Case, since Americans shoulder the largest share of relief for Europe, why must we beg European approval and continually defend our motives?

Congressman Case: One reason is perhaps that we aren't sufficiently given credit for what we are doing over there. But it isn't a matter of begging to give it; the people in Europe are asking for more than we are in position already to give.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. One more question.

Man: Senator Lodge. Why not create a bureau of information staffed with advertising and publicity experts capable of devising ways and means to counteract adverse violent propaganda?

Senator Lodge: I think the advertising man and the publicity man have a real place in this picture, but you should not try to make the advertising man and the publicity man the policy maker. The policy maker must be the President of the United States and the Secretary of State. After they have made the policy, then we can use all these technicians to carry it out, and I agree with you, I think we should. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Well, I wish we had more time for more

questions. Now while our speakers prepare their summaries of tonight's question, here's a special message of interest to you.

Announcer: Tonight we want to thank our listeners for their wonderful support of Town Hall's educational program. You have not only helped us materially, but spiritually as well. This is your Town Meeting and your Town Hall. By telling your friends about our switch to Tuesday night you have helped to increase our listening audience.

Many of you have organized Town Meeting discussion groups in your homes, churches and clubs. Each week more teachers are writing in to tell us that they are using Town Meeting in their classrooms as the most effective method of teaching young minds how to deal with controversial questions.

Many of you are asking about starting Town Halls or Town Meetings in your own communities. We are working now on plans to help you further with your activities in this field.

We just want you to know that we are grateful and inspired by your response and support of the Town Meeting idea. Whenever you are in New York, remember that you are cordially invited to visit Town Hall at 123 West 43rd Street.

Mr. Denny: Tonight we forego our quick summaries again because we extended our question period

to take in more questions. But I'm sure you join me in thanking our speakers for their counsel on tonight's question and I know that you will be interested in our topic for next week when we try to answer this important question, "How Can We Maintain Prosperity and Avoid Depression?"

Many of you are making your budgets now and thinking of plans for next year and you want to know whether to plan for prosperity, recession, or depression; high prices, steady prices, or lower prices; high wages or stabilized wages.

You'll welcome the counsel of Paul G. Hoffman, president of the Studebaker Corporation and Chairman of the Committee for Economic Developments; and Philip D. Reed, Chairman of the Board of General Electric Company, also a Town Hall Trustee; and Mat S. Szymczak, member of the Board

of Governors of the Federal Reserve System; and Richard V. Gilbert, consulting economist and former economic advisor for the OPA.

The following week your Town Meeting will journey to the La Placid Club where we'll put on a program which you, our listeners requested, "Is Christianity Losing Out to Materialism." Our speakers will be Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature*; C. S. Paulding, editor of *The Commonwealth*, Mrs.—what is her name (*laughter*) — there will be two other speakers whose names I don't remember because I'm flubbing right now. (*Laughter*) So plan to be with us next Tuesday and every Tuesday at the sound of the Crier's Bell. (*Applause.*)

[Editor's note: The other speakers will be Mrs. Ethel J. Alpenfö and Stanley High.]